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WARDING'S ADDRESS AT CONVENTION

(Continued from page two.)

the neutral powers, but the administration at Washington spoke with more rhetoric than resolution, and we came to realize what the war powers soon came to know, that the American voice lacked the volume of determined expression that once demanded international heed, and we lacked the strength of confidence in our own defense.

It is too early to estimate the debt and credit account of measureless cost and inestimable heroism must come a rebirth of individual spirituality, reawakened national hope, new liberties and new baptisms in patriotism which must prove some compensation. But we have seen civilization stripped of the pretenses which clothed man's savagery, and we have seen elemental man, developed in genius and more formidable because of that, intoxicated with power or impassioned

ed in the greed of conquest, offending or defending contracting every evidence of mankind's humane advancement. In the envy or jealousy or rivalry or hatred, refined by boasted civilization are the barbarities of primitive man and the seal of obscurity is not yet stamped upon the warrior's sword.

For National Defense. Perhaps it is a reminder more than a discovery, but there has come to us a conviction that this great nation, rich in resources and strong in patriotic manhood, has been negligent concerning its own defense. We have dwelt in fancied rather than real security. Pride mingles with regret in this, because it suggests the mind of a nation so free from intended offense that there was no cultivated thought of needed defense. Our righteousness of purpose is portrayed in our trust in unarmed safety. But there is a warning in bleeding Europe, and there is call today for prudent, patriotic and ample national defense. There is no mistaking the sentiment. We are not thinking of the

hysterical, we need not be moved by a preparedness which is partisan in conception. We need not believe in a defense propaganda inspired by those who aim to wax fat in the propaganda inspired by those who aim to wax fat in the production of arms and munitions, because there is none. I deplore the teachings that an anxiety about our national defense is inspired by greed. We rejoice in free speech and free press and untrammelled opinion, but patriotism is ill promoted by the imputation of false motives, whether aimed at those who believe in defense or those who doubt its wisdom. Such a teaching tends to the concord of citizenship, which may develop a worse peril from within than from any enemy without.

Though we do not pretend to be exclusive in our devotion, we republicans believe, sincerely and soberly, in adequate national defense. We have always believed in an ample navy, as invincible in modern might as John Paul Jones builded in our freedom's earliest fight. We have in mind a protected commerce on the waters and a seacoast secure in strong naval defense. We were building to high rank among naval powers when the democratic party interrupted, and we subscribe to a stronger commitment now because of a new realization of the envy which our wealth and our commerce invite, and a new appreciation of our commanding place in the affairs of the world. I shall not say that it is ours to have the greatest navy in the world, but noting the elimination of distance and the passing of our one-time isolation, we ought to have a navy that fears none in the world, and can say any time and anywhere—these are American rights and must be secured.

Economy in Security. It is not for me to specify the provisions for naval defense. Since modern warfare is in large part a conflict of brains, so must naval defense be devised in highest intelligence. Let us strengthen every arm—airial, submarine, fleet cruisers and great dreadnoughts. Let him who is anxious about the cost remember that Republican policies afford the ample means without conscious burdens upon the people. Every befuddled American citizen, whatever his activity, knows that the cost of insurance against accident, theft, fire, flood or thunderbolt, assessed as a fixed charge upon his income, is worth its cost, in peace of mind, though less never.

Moreover, under any system security is economy itself. There are manifest differences about our developments for military defense. The president made a trip from the coast to the valley of the Missouri to tell the American people the need of preparedness. It might have been more seemly to tell the story to congress, for that body was in session and empowered to act, and seemingly ever ready to testify obedience. However, congress undertook to provide an army for defense and the majority wobbled between pacification and preparedness until the republican minority in the senate put something real in the pending measure. We republicans made a rational response to the call of the land, but democratic insufficiency and inefficiency are recorded in the conference-amended act, and a federal nitrate plant to supply powder to the patriots and pap to the paternalists and federal fertilizer to the farmers in competition with private enterprise is the great constructive offering of a democratic majority.

Until the civilized world is pledged and replighted to peace, and until civilization commits nations to the nobler practices of the individuals who constitute them, in which I would have America lead, this republic will have need for a basic army and a ready provision for military defense. We have territory to defend, we have independence to preserve, we have lives to safeguard, we have property to protect, we have rights to assert, we have missions of humanity to perform. We proclaim justice and we love peace, and we mean to have them—and we are not too proud to fight for them.

No Curse of Militarism. Let no one apprehend the curse of militarism in this fair land. We declare unalterably against it. Our free citizenship, walking confidently absorbed in the triumphs of peace, would tolerate no such blight on American institutions. There is to be no surrender of cherished ideals. With that yearning for peace which has marked our continued development, with that same commitment to justice which has given us front rank in the onward march of civilization, with that rare unselfishness which led us

to unseath the sword for humanity's sake and put all territorial aggrandizement aside, with that belief in the square deal, individual, national and international, which is the foundation of American faith, we mean to go on, in exemplar of peace to all the nations, an arbiter of justice to all the world, a promoter of righteousness to all the people of the earth.

At the same time we have more to do than to chart a national course through the waters surging with the turbulence of war; our inspiring course is on the highway of peace. Our armed defense must ever be linked with our industrial self-reliance, and the nation worth dying for must first be worth living for. Out of nature's prodigality we have incalculable resources and limitless possibilities, and there is need only for the unhampered application of man's genius and industry to make up as independent industrialists as we are free politically. Ample defense rests on industrial freedom and self-reliance as well as patriotic sacrifice, and industrial preparedness gives that assurance of material good fortune in peace on which must be founded all our higher aspirations.

The Protective Policy. Subsistence is the first requisite of existence, and we have the higher American standard of living because of the republican protective policy which makes of Americans the best paid workmen in all the world. Out of the abundance of employment and higher compensation, together with the beckoning opportunity which offers every reward, we Americans have attracted the laborers of the earth, and set new standards here.

It is not for me to put the stamp of relative importance on pending issues—the intelligent voters will determine that for themselves. But I know what they are thinking, and they believe that the protective policy which made us industrially and commercially eminent is necessary to preserve that eminence. I know they want it restored and maintained. For myself I prefer a protective and productive tariff which prospers American first. I choose the economic policy which sends the American workmen to the savings banks rather than the soup houses. I commend the plan under which the healing glow of prospering business is reflected in every face from the great captain of industry to the schooling child of the daily wage-earner.

Moreover, I like the abiding consistency of our unchanging position upon this policy. The republican convention of 1860, which gave to the nation and all history the nomination of Lincoln, made this simple and ample utterance:

"That while providing revenue for the support of the general government by duties upon imports, sound policy requires such an adjustment of these imports as to encourage the development of the industrial interests of the whole country; and we commend that policy of national exchange which secures to the working men liberal wages, to agriculture remunerating prices, to mechanics and manufacturers an adequate reward for their skill, labor and enterprise, and to the nation commercial prosperity and independence."

We might fittingly reiterate that utterance today. The failure of revenues under existing democratic policy, the necessary resort to the imposition of direct and offensive taxation—war taxes on a people at peace—to meet deficiencies which ever attend democratic control, the depression and disaster which followed democratic revision, which were relieved rather than caused by the European war—all these argue the republican restoration.

Temporary Prosperity. No one disputes a temporary prosperity in our land today. But it is sectional in its factory aspect, abnormal in its fevered rush, fictitious in its essentials, and perverting in its tendency. Worse, it is the gold stilled from the river of blood, poured out by the horrifying sacrifice of millions of our fellowmen. God forbid that we should boast a prosperity wrought in such waste of human life. We had rather rejoice in the prosperity of peace. We had rather boast our good fortune won from the world as it stands erect in a fair contest, where men openly contended for the laurels of industry and the garlands of trade. I do not mean that we must "share" our wits in competition with the world, for we tried that, and involuntarily turned the blade to cutting our production and severing thousands from American pay rolls. There was no cut in the cost of living but a visible hack at the capacity to live.

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ALEXANDERS

The democratic party is always concerned about the American consumer. Our republican achievement is the making of a nation of prosperous producers, and by producers I mean every human being who applies muscle or skill or brain or all to the conversion of nature's abundance into the necessities and luxuries of life or participates in the ways and means of their transportation and exchange. Far better a high cost of living and ability to buy than a lowering of cost attended by destruction of purchasing capacity.

The Cost of Living. It is worth while to recall the magnificent importance given to the high cost of living four years ago; first, to emphasize democracy's failure to reduce it, though it risked and almost accomplished the ruin of our good fortune in attempting it; second, to declare there is no such thing. What was thought to be the high cost were only the higher demands and the larger capacity to buy, which were the natural reflexes of the higher standard of living reared under republican protection.

The one notable advance in cost has profited the American farmer, for whose befitting share in good fortune we have stood unflinchingly and sincerely. His reward is a republican achievement and we prefer to cling to the conditions which brought to agriculture its delayed but deserved reward and hold it secure in republican maintenance of a home market unmatched in all the world. More, we want our basic prosperity to be home-created and home-sustained, and not dependent on conditions abroad.

Let us agree—may let us boast—that American industry can compete with any in all the world, under like conditions. But we also boast a condition, created through isolation and maintained by protection, wherein the rate of American wages is twice or thrice to ten times that of old-world competition. Reduce our wages and we shall have conditions more nearly equal, but no republican will consent to that. We are willing to standardize the wages of the world. We are as fit to lead in doing that as we were to fix the newer guarantees of liberty and independence, but we republicans do not mean to lower our scales to effect the leveling. We want the world measurements raised to our heights. Until it is done we shall cling to American wages for American workmen, American markets for American products, and hold the republican guaranty of our material good fortune.

Democratic Repentance. The nations abroad and the democratic party at home are bearing witness to republican wisdom. German industrial self-reliance is the sequence to her adoption of a republican protective tariff, and England's manifest conversion to this fostering plan will mimic the prophetic wisdom of republican protectionists. Even the democratic party is penitent now and makes confession in action if not in words. The proposed destruction

of American sugar has been repealed, and simulated grief about the American breakfast table has been put aside. With that facility for changing position which has been made manifest from Baltimore to Vera Cruz, the party in power proposes to restore the tariff commission which it had hastened to destroy.

This change of attitude is not because of its great and manifest love of commission alone, but because failure is written across every paragraph of democratic revision and fear is haunting the White House slumbers. The Wilson administration has sensed the country's anxiety about industrial conditions when the revelry in munitions and the immunity granted by war are ended. It has made a reflective estimate of the perils of 1914, once called psychological, and means to apply a stolen remedy, with more concern about the effects than the ethics involved. We do not oppose a tariff commission. We favor it. It is a republican creation. We do not want one, however, conceived in democratic hostility to American industry or managed in democratic opposition to business success. We

would hasten the protective defense against foreign invasion, to guarantee our industrial security, and then let a tariff commission deliberately and scientifically work out the needs of American preference.

Square Deal for Business. No honest business in this country is too big to be good and useful, or too little to be protected and encouraged, and both big and little deserve the American shield against destruction by foreign competition, and protection from the raiders, political or

(Continued on page six.)

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